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161]

[ 162

## No. II.—CORN BILL.

### TO THE PEOPLE OF HAMPSHIRE.

The “AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY,” who hold their meetings at Winchester, have framed a PETITION to Parliament for a *Corn Bill*; that is to say, for some law to prevent corn from being brought from abroad, until the price of English corn, *is higher than it now is*; or, in other words, *a law to make corn dearer than it now is*. This Petition they have published in the County papers, and, it appears, that they have sent blank Petitions to the several Market-towns in the County, there to be signed, for the purpose of being presented all together.—For the greater part of the gentlemen, who have adopted this measure, I entertain respect; and those whom I do not know, are, I presume, equally entitled to the respect of their several neighbours. The motives, too, of these gentlemen, I suppose to be laudable.—But, I am convinced, that they have taken an erroneous view of the matter, and that the measure they recommend would be injurious to the people at large and to land-owners and occupiers themselves. Therefore, if any sufficient number of persons are willing to stand forward in opposition to the above-mentioned petition, by the means of an open Meeting of the County, I shall be happy to join in such opposition.—In making, however, this proposition, it will be justly demanded of me that I state the *reasons*, on which the opposition is to be founded; and this I shall now do in as clear a manner as I am able consistent with brevity.—The Petition states, that all the *expences* of a farm are *nearly as high as ever*, and that the taxes are full as high. The latter is correct; the former is not. Our wages at Botley were from 15s. to 18s. a week: they are now from 10s. to 12s. a week. Bricklayers, Carpenters, Smiths, Wheelwrights, have all come down one fourth in their prices. *Horses*

have fallen in price a full *third*, if not a half. *Timber* has fallen in an equal proportion. The food for the horse and the seed for the land must always be in price upon a perfect level with the market corn.—Well, then, what are the *other expences* of a farm? The *rent* and the *tythe*. The latter must keep pace with the price of corn, seeing that the tythe owner always takes his tenth, whether it be of cheap corn or dear corn; and, as to the rent, if the tenant has now the worst of it, the landlord has had the worst of it, and will have the worst of it again if corn should become dear from causes other than bad seasons.—Besides, the real great cause of the present low prices, is, the *three* abundant and dry harvests which we have had in uninterrupted succession; for, though, *in some parts*, the wheat was much blighted last year, the deficiency of crop, was far from being *general*, and it was the wheat *only* that was not a most abundant crop, and of that grain there was a *prodigious quantity* on hand of the crop of the year before. Now, when a farmer grows five quarters upon an acre, is it reasonable for him to expect as *high* a price per quarter as when he grows two quarters and a half? Are not the five quarters at 40s. a quarter as good as two quarters and a half at 80s. a quarter?—The consequences of making corn dearer than it would be, are *first*, the making of all other food dearer; *second*, the ruin, in a short time, of many of our manufacturers, because it is impossible to believe that we could expect goods as cheap as those which would be made in countries where food is to be had for a third part of the price of that which would be eaten by our manufacturers, and amongst the articles of our manufacturers, the raw materials for many come from our own soil, as wool, skins, flax, lead, iron, tin, copper and coals; *third*, persons of fixed incomes, who are great consumers of our produce as well as employers of our tradesmen, would

go to France and to other countries, where they could live upon cheap food, in cheap houses; and have cheap servants, horses and carriages; and, soon after these would follow many of our manufacturers, and these the most clever and enterprising; *fourth*, our commercial ship-building would follow the fate of the manufactures, and also the employment of our ships as carriers, seeing that the ships of other countries, particularly of America, would be built so much cheaper and would also sail so much cheaper.—These are only a part of the consequences to be apprehended from any measure, calculated to make corn dear; but they are quite sufficient to induce me to oppose such a measure. If I am asked, how the English farmer is to contend with the French farmer, while the former has so many and such heavy taxes to pay, of which the latter knows nothing, I answer, *take off English taxes*, 'till the English farmer is able to contend with the French farmer; and *then* I'll warrant it, that we beat the farmers of France, that we undersell them, and that our manufacturers live as cheap, and sell cheaper than any manufacturers in the world. I am clearly of opinion, that taxes may be taken off to *this extent* without any injury to the credit, the safety, or the peace of the country; but I must be very plain upon this head, and expressly say, that with those who do not think that *this ought to be done*, I wish not to join in any petition against a Corn Bill; because I am certain, that it is impossible for **MORE THAN ONE HALF OF THE PRESENT TAXES TO BE RAISED, UNLESS THE PRICE BE KEPT UP, ON AN AVERAGE OF YEARS, TO ABOUT 120s. PER QUARTER OF GOOD WHEAT.** To reduce the taxes one half, the whole of the standing army must be disbanded; the Horse Guards must lose its brilliancy and power; the navy must come back to its state of 1783; and a vast reduction must be made in the Civil List.—I am for **THESE REDUCTIONS** and for **NO CORN BILL.** With persons who are for **NO CORN BILL** and are **AGAINST THESE REDUCTIONS** I cannot join; because it would be joining in senseless clamour and popular delusion.—There is yet another point of great importance to men-

tion. During the late war, several laws were passed restricting the *liberty of the Press and of public discussion*. I will join in no Petition, which does not include a prayer for the *repeal of these laws*, for a *repeal of the Alien Act*, and for a *constitutional reform in the representation of the people in the Commons' House of Parliament*. With those who regard the Belly and the Purse, and are careless about their rights and liberties as Englishmen, I wish to have nothing to do. For the sufferings of such persons I have no compassion; and, indeed, the more they suffer the better I am pleased.—To men of other minds I now address myself.—It is inconvenient to most people to go to any particular place to sign a *Requisition to the Sheriff*; and, therefore, I publish the following *Circular Requisition*, in imitation of the Circular Petition of the Agricultural Society. This Requisition may be copied upon a sheet of paper and signed by as many persons, in any town or place, as choose to sign it. The paper, thus signed, may then be sent to me, at *Botley near Southampton*, before the *1st day of March*; and, if I receive Requisitions, the signatures to the whole of which amount to *one hundred*, I will wait upon the Sheriff with them. If I do not, I shall have done my utmost in opposition to the Corn Bill; I shall leave the dear loaf and heavy taxes to jog quietly on together; and to hear the whinings and grumblings of those who feel the grievance, and yet want the spirit to use the lawful means of getting rid of it, will be an ample compensation to me for the portion of the grievance that will fall to my lot.

To the High Sheriff of the County of Southampton.

SIR,

We, the undersigned Freeholders and other Landholders, Tradesmen and Manufacturers, of the County of Southampton, perceiving, that, in various parts of the Kingdom, evil disposed or misguided persons are endeavouring to prevail on the Legislature to impose duties on the Importation of Corn, and, being convinced, that such a measure would grievously oppress the labouring classes, would be ruinous to tradesmen and manufacturers, would, in the end, be injurious to the growers of corn and the owners of land themselves,

and might possibly disturb the peace of His Majesty's Dominions, request that you will be pleased to convene a Meeting of the County on a day as little distant as may be convenient, in order to take into consideration and to discuss the propriety of presenting a Petition to the two Houses of Parliament, earnestly praying that no such measure may be adopted; and also praying for the repeal of laws, hostile to our rights and liberties, passed during the late war, and for a constitutional Reform in the Representation of the People in the Commons' House of Parliament.

*Date* —

N. B. The letters, conveying the Requisitions must be *post paid*; as it is not reasonable that I should be put to any expence on account of it.

## No. II.

AMERICA.—*Proofs of the real freedom of her people.—Mr. Randolph's Letter.—Triumph of Republican principles.*

Our Newspapers take infinite delight in speaking of the *Hertford Congress*, the *Maryland Resolutions*, &c. which indicate a disposition in part of the people of America to *resist* those laws, passed by the Congress, which they deem *oppressive*, and they found this projected *resistance* upon the old principle, that *resistance of oppression* is a **RIGHT** inherent in freemen.—Our *Times*, *Courier*, *Chronicle*, and other corrupt party papers, *applaud* this conduct in the discontented part of the Americans.—Fools! they do not see, that the very fact of such intended resistance being *openly declared through the American press*, without even a thought of it being dangerous so to do, is the greatest compliment that they can possibly pay to the American Government, and the strongest proof that they can give us of the *real freedom of her press and her people*.—Fools! to tell the world so much about this *openly proposed resistance*, when its passing like a summer cloud, unheeded, is the sure and certain proof of the perfect freedom of the Republican Government, which, in *practice*, secures the *right of resisting*, as well as complaining of, *oppression*.—Fools! do they not know,

that, by an act, passed, in *England*, during the war against the French Republicans, and still in *existence*, any man who shall do what these American Writers and Printers are now *doing*, is liable to be hanged, have his head cut off, his bowels ripped out, his carcase quartered, his quarters placed at the disposal of the King, and his estates and property confiscated!—Fools! to proclaim such proofs of the difference of the two Governments! The act, to which I allude, says, that “if any person shall ‘attempt, by force or restraint, to compel the king to change his measures or counsels, or shall, in order to put any force or restraint upon, or to intimidate, or overawe, both Houses, or either House of parliament, or shall express the same by publishing any printing, or writing, or by any other overt act, every such person shall be deemed a TRAITOR.”—Now, this is what is doing daily through the press of America, where some of the Printers are actually advising the people to *resist the laws of the Congress by force of arms*, and to *compel* the Congress and President to do what these writers say is for the good of the country. So far are these writers and printers from apprehending any *danger* from such conduct, that they complain that they produce no effect by their labours. Mr. Madison and the Congress let them alone. If the people chose to *resist*; why, it is the people's affair; the measures and counsels must be *changed*, and all is quiet again. There can be no danger to Mr. Madison or the Members of the Congress, who gain nothing by governing the country; and who can only want to do the best for their own proper estates and liberties, in common with those of the rest of the community.—Such a Government can want neither treason laws nor troops to protect it; because the people may put out the rulers, and appoint others when they please, and because those rulers have no *private interest* to make them regret the loss of power.—There is a Mr. RANDOLPH, of Virginia, who, a great partisan against the President and the war, has published a long letter to the people of America, which our *Times* and *Courier* have republished, and upon which the *Times* makes the following remarks, which are very interesting to intelligent readers, because they shew clearly the mortification

of these hirelings at the language which even their favourites are compelled to use in America in order to avoid universal execration.—“ A New York paper of the 27th of December contains a long letter from the celebrated Mr. Randolph, “ a Statesman no less distinguished by his staunch nationality and republicanism, than by his persevering opposition to Mr. Madison’s Government. The Convention of the New England States at Hertford, and the strong probability that their proceedings would terminate in a dissolution of the Union, have called forward Mr. Randolph as a vehement advocate against a measure which this gentleman considers so menacing to liberty. Happily for him these alarms are at an end. Our Diplomats at Ghent have not only signed the death-warrant of the Hertford Convention, but have abandoned to the vengeance of their countrymen the people of Nantucket, who had declared for neutrality, as well as those of Maine, who had sworn allegiance to his Majesty. We have forcibly united States ‘ destined,’ in the prophetic language of Mr. Randolph, ‘ to become within the present century a mighty nation,’—‘ a confederacy which has already given a deep blow to our maritime pride, and threatens, at no distant day, to dispute with us the empire of the ocean.’ It is of importance that we should urgently call the attention of our readers, as Britons, to this language—language proceeding not from a promoter, but from a steady opponent of the war; not from an admirer, but from an open despiser of the American cabinet. Yet even this man, in the moment of actual bankruptcy to the Government, and of impending dissolution to the union of the States, can triumph over Great Britain, and augur the speedy subjection of her power! What will he say, when he learns that the uplifted rod of vengeance was stayed by a treaty, in which we affected to consult only ‘ the honour and the fair pretensions’ of America? He will not even give us credit for our liberality; for as the general tenor of his letter shews him to be convinced that our conduct in the war has been mean, and dastardly, and barbarous, so he will attribute to nothing but cowardice the abandonment of all

our high pretensions at the peace. Mr. Randolph, unlike most of his countrymen, professes to be proud of the ‘ English blood in his veins,’ and to look back with pride on the names ‘ of Alfred, and Bacon, and Shakspeare, and Milton, and Locke.’ He avows, that during ‘ our magnanimous stand against the Tyrant before whom all the rest of Christendom had bowed,’ he put up fervent prayers for our success; but the fact which he alleges in proof of our having abandoned the high ground on which we then stood, and descended to the level of a jacobinical hostility, is one which deserves, and will perhaps hereafter demand some investigation. ‘ Let not her orators,’ says he, ‘ declaim against the enormity of French principles, when she permits herself to arm and discipline our slaves, and to lead them into the field against their masters, in the hope of exciting by their example a general insurrection, and thus rendering Virginia another St. Domingo.’ What grounds there may be for this charge—a heavy one it undoubtedly is—we profess not to know; but we do trust it will not turn out, upon enquiry, that we have sanctioned the American treachery of bribing our seamen to desert, by an example of conduct still more to be reprobated. In regard to the principal object of his letter, Mr. Randolph is grossly inconsistent. He professes an ardent love of liberty, not jacobinical, but of ancient English growth. He argues, that this liberty must perish in America if the present constitution be overthrown; and yet he tacitly admits that under that constitution every spark of real liberty has become extinct. ‘ Atheists and madmen,’ says he, ‘ have been our lawgivers.’ ‘ The press is under a virtual imprimatur.’ ‘ The union is held together by no common authority to which men can look up with confidence and respect.’ ‘ Congress is *felo de se.*’ In short—‘ Our Government is, in fact, already changed.’ It was from these very considerations, and not from any hostility to the real interests of America, that we earnestly wished the strong hand of Britain would have overthrown the chaotic system of these ‘ Atheists and madmen,’ and without pretending to establish an invidious supremacy,

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" would have held out to all the States  
" who knew how to value the gift, a liberal  
" and BROTHERLY ALLIANCE, such as  
" that so eloquently sketched in Burke's  
" address to the North American colo-  
" nists—perhaps *the most beautiful and*  
" *affecting State Paper ever penned.*"—  
Now, reader, do you happen to know,  
whether the sublime BURKE penned this  
" most beautiful and *affecting State-*  
" *Paper*" before, or after, he got his *pen-*  
*sion for life of 3,000*l.* a year?*—Fool!  
he wished did he, for "a *brotherly alli-*  
" *ance*" with those states, who "knew  
" how to *value the gift.*" Oh ass! Insuf-  
ferable fool! how will the Americans  
laugh at the idea of a "*brotherly alli-*  
" *ance*" with . . . and . . . and . . .  
and . . . Oh, that I could speak out!  
But, faith, they will speak out for me on  
the other side of the water. "A brotherly  
" alliance!" I told the fool long ago, that  
he knows nothing of the Americans. I  
told him, that, whatever *noise* the aris-  
toocrats might make about a separation  
of the Union, they would draw in their  
horas, when the pinch came, and even  
join the rest of the people against us.  
It is very true, however, as this man  
observes, that, in the treaty of Ghent,  
" we signed the death warrant of the  
" *Hertford convention;*" but, so far ought  
we to be from lamenting this, we ought to  
rejoice at it, seeing that that convention  
had for its real object the forcing into  
power a set of aspiring men, who aim at  
the debasement of their country by the  
introduction of distinctions incompatible  
with republican freedom. If those men  
had succeeded in their undertaking,  
America would have become an object  
of *contempt*, instead of being, what she  
now is, an object of *envy*. The flame  
of real liberty it was the design of these  
vain men to extinguish. Ought we not  
to rejoice, that the death warrant of  
such a nest of conspirators was signed  
by our worthy Regent? We do not like  
conspirators at *home*; why ought we to  
like them *abroad*? The leaders of the  
" British convention," in Scotland, who  
wanted a reform of Parliament, were  
*transported to Botany Bay.* The lead-  
ers of the New England Convention,  
will be merely "*sent to Coventry.*" They  
may, perhaps, now and then, meet with  
a republican to *spit upon* them; but,  
that will be the utmost of their punish-  
ment. By the time that the *new treaty*

of commerce, now preparing between  
*America and France*, has been two months  
in force, and we see the sea covered with  
American ships, the Members of the  
Hertford Convention will have been as  
completely forgotten as the insects, on  
which they have trodden, going to and  
from the place of their sittings.—The  
triumph of republican principles is now  
complete in America. The *press* has  
never, in any one instance, been shackled;  
every one has been free to say, to write,  
to publish, just what he pleased, though  
the country was invaded in many parts  
at once, and though the Houses of the  
Congress and President were in flames.  
No law for the security of freedom has  
ever been suspended; no restraint put  
upon the tongue or the pen of any man,  
other than the natural, the just, restraint  
imposed by public opinion, by a sense of  
shame, or by a fear of the contempt and  
hatred of men's neighbours. The Pres-  
ident and the Congress have stood in need  
of no guards to defend them. All has  
been free and safe at heart, and every  
hostile arm at the disposal of the country  
for its defence against the foreign enemy.  
—The fool of the *Times* keeps harping  
upon the *bankrupt state of the American*  
*Government.* Oh, fool, fool! Why, this  
only adds to the praises of the repub-  
lican system, which gets the better of all  
such difficulties; which knows no weak-  
nesses from such a cause; which, with  
or without money, pushes out its squa-  
drons, arms its people, and obtains peace  
on honorable terms. This fool has so long  
been used to talk of *money* as the sinews  
of war; to look upon *subsidies* and *mer-*  
*cenary troops* and *secret services* as the  
means of defending a country, that he  
supposes, that the moment a *government*  
*is poor*, the country must be subdued,  
if any one will be at the trouble of at-  
tacking. The fool does not perceive, that  
national defence, in America, is *the busi-*  
*ness of the people themselves*; that the  
President has no more to do with it, as  
to his private interest, than any other  
man; and, in short, every citizen having  
*something to fight for*, the Com-  
monwealth is defended, with all its institu-  
tions, laws and liberties, though there be  
not a shilling in the public treasury.  
PAINE observed very truly, that a *rich*  
*government made a poor people.* In  
America the people are rich and the go-  
vernment poor; and that, apparently, is

the state of things which that queer sort of a nation prefers. We like a different state of things. We like a rich and splendid government, decorated with Crowns, Caronets, Mitres, Robes and Gowns, dignified Wigs, Maces and Golden Coaches, and tall strait beautiful men on horseback and on foot dressed in scarlet, blue, and gold. Our taste is, out of all doubt, the best; but, then, we may let the poor hoghanmoghan republicans quietly enjoy their meals of beef, geese, ducks, and turkeys. They are feasting the belly; we the eyes. If ours is the most refined taste, let us pity the republicans, and suffer them to feast in quiet.

**MURAT, KING OF NAPLES.**—There can be no doubt, from the proceedings on the trial of General Excelman, that *Joachim Murat* is, at this moment, regarded as an *enemy* by the present reigning family of France. I am sorry for this, because, although I have no very great liking for *Kings*, I consider *Murat* to be one of the best Sovereigns that has appeared in Europe for, at least, a century. According to the most correct information, his subjects are entirely devoted to him, and this would not be the case if he were a despot, or abandoned to the gratification of unnatural, or inordinate passions, instead of making the *welfare* of his people the chief object of his care. But, however much he may be hated by the Bourbons, and by the priests, who, I have no doubt, were the authors of the late attempt to poison him, *Murat* appears to be on the best possible terms with the Emperor of Austria, who possesses the means of making his ally be respected, should there be any intention on the part of France to question his right to the throne of Naples. With regard to what is said about *Joachim's* designs against the *Pope*, nothing has appeared in a shape sufficiently authentic, to enable me to form a correct opinion, though I should be well pleased to hear that the temporal, as well as the spiritual power of his *Holiness*, had received an irrecoverable blow.—In the midst of the dangers which threaten *Murat*, addresses of congratulation are pouring in from all parts of his kingdom, in which his great merits, not only as a Sovereign, and a Statesman, but as a man, are much, and, in my opinion, deservedly dwelt upon.—

None of these addresses have yet been translated; but their general tendency may be easily inferred, from the following *Answer* of the King to the address presented by the Nobility of Naples. This answer also shews, that *Murat* himself entertains no fears as to the safety of his throne or the independence of the nation:—“ The address of “ the Nobility of my kingdom was highly “ flattering to my heart; the feeling and “ wishes which it expresses fully agree “ with my views and sentiments. Never “ did the Nobility shew itself more wor- “ thy than on this solemn occasion, when “ setting aside its own pretensions, and “ forgetting its ancient privileges, it has “ spoken for the good of the Sovereign “ and of the State. It has spoken the “ language of patriotism and honour. “ The Neapolitan nation will eternally “ honour the name of so many long ce- “ lebrated families, of so many distin- “ guished by late services; and my suc- “ cessors will know how to distinguish “ them, who have now, by their disin- “ terestedness, acquired fresh glory. The “ nobility wish for institutions which may “ insure the duration of a liberal Go- “ vernment. This wish must be that “ of the whole nation, and I know that it “ is so. It would have been already “ fulfilled had not political storms im- “ peded my views. Our first want is “ the independence of the nation. THIS “ IS OBTAINED—it is secured by the “ valour of my army. We may now em- “ ploy ourselves in the internal organiz- “ ation of the kingdom, and all my “ thoughts are directed to this important “ object. Institutions suitable to our “ times are equally necessary for the good “ of the nation, and for the splendour “ and security of the throne. I declare “ that it gives me less pleasure to go- “ vern, than in the midst of this people “ whom I so greatly love, and which has “ shewn so much love to me, to found a “ regular Government, surrounded by the “ Counsellors of the nation, to preserve “ it from passion and error; a Govern- “ ment, which will always be approved by “ the brave Neapolitan nation, because its “ only object can be their happiness. If “ the Nobility leave to their successors “ the glorious character they now dis- “ play, my successors will find in them, “ as I do, the brightest support of the “ throne.”

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## THE INQUISITION.

SIR,—I beg leave to call the attention of your readers to the following most extraordinary proclamation, which I have copied from the *Times* newspaper of the 1st instant: “ *Madrid, Jan. 12.* “ By order of Don Francisco Mier y Campillo, Bishop of Almeria, and *Inquisitor-General*, a proclamation, in substance as follows, has been affixed to the doors of all the churches: “ [It begins with reciting the *Pope’s Bull* (formerly published) against free-masons, &c. and then proceeds as follows:]—We have learned that a number of Spaniards, yielding to the frightful yoke of our oppressors, and drawn into foreign countries, have had the weakness to connect themselves with those societies which lead to sedition, insubordination, to every error, and to all crimes; we at the same time trust that such individuals, restored to liberty and their country, will recolect that they are Spaniards, and will, after the example of their ancestors, submit with docility and respect to the voice of the *Supreme Pastor*, and of our legitimate Sovereign. With the advice of the Members of his Majesty’s Council, and of the *Holy Inquisition*, we offer now to receive, with open arms, and all the tenderness befitting our character and functions, those who within a fortnight from the date of the publication of the present edict, shall voluntarily and spontaneously give themselves up to us: but if any one (which God forbid!) continue obstinate in the path of perdition, we will employ, to our great regret, severity and rigour, and subject them to all the penalties inflicted by the civil and canon law. We order the present edict to be read in all the churches of the kingdom, and to be fixed up at all the church-doors, from whence it must not be taken down without our permission, under pain of the greater excommunication, and 200 ducats fine.” This proclamation cannot but excite in the minds of all liberal men, the most lively sensations of alarm.—For several days past all accounts from Spain have brought the information, that it was the intention of Ferdinand the VIIth to adopt, at the advice of M. Cevallos,

measures of conciliation towards the suffering inhabitants of his kingdom. It is therefore with increased astonishment that I have perused the above document. A long residence in that country, and a very perfect knowledge of its customs, enables me to judge very accurately of the inclinations, and manners of thinking, of the great body of the people. I have, therefore, no hesitation in most positively stating, in defiance of whatever the hireling press may say to the contrary, that the establishment of the dominion of the priests, is in complete contradiction to the general wish of the people. The effect of the Inquisition is little understood in this country. It is either greatly exaggerated, or, by its apologists, extenuated into nothing. I will endeavour to explain to you, Sir, its general operations upon society, which is by far the most important way in which it ought to be considered, affecting as it does the interior economy of every family.

The chief seat of this tribunal is at Madrid, where it is under the government of the *Inquisitor General*, a numerous council, and a very extended suite of subordinate officers. In every city, and even to the smallest towns in the kingdom, a miniature *fac simile* of this establishment exists, composed precisely in the same way; with this single difference, that in the provinces the inquisitors are not publicly avowed, only guessed at. In every family, there is either a resident priest, or one who daily visits, or investigates its most minute concerns. If he resides in the house, he regulates at his will, the entire government of its inmates. No circumstance the most trifling can take place, without his knowledge or concurrence, even to visitors received, or visits paid. In families not rich enough to render the residence of a priest sufficiently comfortable, the daily visitor is as much master of every action that passes within doors, as though he resided in the house. The chief inquisitor, in towns of moderate size, is not always a priest. He is very often the principal inhabitant; that is to say, the person possessing the most consideration. In this case, the appointment is received by him from the Inquisitor General at Madrid; and he is obliged to undertake the office, and perform its functions, however repugnant they may be to his feelings.—Thus it of-

tent happens that a gentleman, who is invested with the office of Provincial Inquisitor, receives an order to arrest and place in solitary and close confinement (as is the case with all the inquisition prisoners) his dearest friend, even his wife, and his only child, of whose offence he is haply in perfect ignorance, whose ultimate destination is entirely unknown to him, and the horrors of whose confinement he cannot ameliorate, without the certainty of being himself subject to the same. The provincial prisons of the Inquisition are held in such awe, and wrapt in such mystery, that no human being dare make enquiry as to their contents.—The arrests take place invariably at midnight, and the prisoner is removed by unknown attendants, at that solemn hour, and in profound silence, from provincial prison to provincial prison, until all trace of him is lost. If he is seized upon in one town, his examination does not take place for months, and then in another town in the very opposite part of the kingdom to that of his residence. Should he even return to his family, he dares not speak, nor dare they enquire, as to any thing that has occurred to him during his absence. The utmost secrecy prevails on every subject. The Inquisitors are unknown, even to each other, and where a provincial tribunal is summoned to assemble, an unknown messenger arrives at midnight with the order, which is delivered in silence, with some mysterious signs by which its authenticity is known, and the place of assembly pointed out. You will thus understand how this tribunal is enabled to carry its *espionage* into the most remote recesses of every family. The priests who, as I have already shewn, are every where, are thus enabled to communicate the most private transactions of every individual, and no one is safe. Anonymous information being always received, the *Holy Office*, in the first instance, transmits the charge to the Inquisitor in the neighbourhood of the accused, who summons immediately before him, the priest with whom the accused communes, and on whose report ulterior proceedings are adopted. You will at once see, therefore, the nature of the influence which this body possesses, and the absolute power which it holds over every class of society.

The principal cause of hatred which the Institution has to *freemasonry* is, that this latter institution possesses also its mys-

teries, its secret signs, and its correspondencies, by which it was able in some measure, to penetrate into the hidden operations of the Inquisition. The bond of secrecy that united its members enabled them to co-operate against that formidable tribunal, and was a sort of counterpoise to its effect. The clergy therefore decided upon its annihilation, and the proclamation now before you is one measure taken for that purpose. Ferdinand, a tyrant at heart, found that the priests were his best support, their principles being in unison with his own, and at their request, no doubt, this horrid mandate has been issued.

When Ferdinand returned to Spain, he found the liberal policy of Bonaparte had given universal freedom to all mankind. The annihilation of the Inquisition was a death-blow to the clergy, inasmuch as from that very moment, with one accord, the resident priests were dismissed from each family, and the visits of the other class no longer tolerated. Priesthood thus was rapidly falling into decay, and had the Regency and the Cortes continued another year, Ferdinand's whole efforts to re-establish them would have been in vain. Tyranny always looks to the priesthood for support. In fettering the mind of man, a tyrant is best enabled to establish his dominion, and we find throughout universal history that there never existed a despotic monarch, who did not place his chief reliance upon the influence of priesthood. It was upon this principle that Ferdinand on his return looked up to this body to support him, in those measures which he had determined on; and they, in their turn, were delighted to find that a prospect once more opened to them of recovering their fallen power.

The army, on whom the king was obliged to place a considerable reliance, had not yet sufficiently thrown off the influence of superstition, to oppose the shoals of monks, and priests, who were again let loose upon them. Ferdinand did not temporise. He acted in the most decisive manner, and by boldly seizing upon and destroying the friends of reason and liberty, he consolidated his power, and proceeded to the universal destruction of every thing that had been done in his absence towards the restoration of personal and mental liberty. In these efforts he was seconded, of course, by the whole

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body of the priests. Several of the principal generals of the old school, who had never shaken off the bands of fanaticism, and looking up to the prospective rewards for the services they might render towards enslaving their fellow citizens, immediately joined the monarch with their whole weight. It is with regret I have to state that there were British Officers found who would join in so monstrous an union against that liberty, the blessings of which a reference to the land of their birth ought to have strongly inculcated on their minds. To the high honor of others, they refused to continue in so despicable a service. On the return of Ferdinand, he found the following British Officers in his army:—Generals Roche, Dyer, Whittingham, Doyle, Carrol, and Downie. Of these Dyer, Whittingham, and Carrol, resigned their Spanish commissions on the suppression of the Cortes, and have returned to their native service. Sir John Downie had been a commissary in the British army, which employment he quitted and received a commission from the Provincial Junta of Seville. This was afterwards confirmed by the *Cortes*; from whom also he asked, and received one of the crosses, as they are called, of the order of Charles the III: and, in compliment to whom our Prince Regent knighted him. Thus to the *Cortes* he owed his all!—On the arrival of the Spanish monarch Sir John Downie was at Madrid, where he had been all the period of the French campaign, occupying himself with politics at the seat of government, instead of sharing the dangers of the seat of war; and, strange to say, was one of those who were employed in the *honourable* office of establishing the Inquisition, and imprisoning that very same *Cortes* from whom he received his employment. Every other British officer in the Spanish service rejected, with scorn, this vile employment.—Sir John Dyer wrote a most impressive letter, in which he resigned his commission in the Spanish service, preferring honourable retirement to being the tool of a despot! However, the Inquisition was re-established; all the ordinances issued by Bonaparte and the *Cortes*, for its eternal suppression, were declared void, and additional power was given to its authority. In the mean time, the Lodges of Free-masons,

which had, since the residence of the French in the Peninsula, become very numerous, were actively employed in endeavouring to counteract its operation. To the secret means of communication which this society possessed, is to be attributed the escape of those patriots to Gibraltar, who were afterwards demanded by the sanguinary Villa Viesosa, the governor of Cadiz, on whose mandate Sir James Duff, the British consul there, claimed, and for whose delivery to the blood hounds of the Inquisition, to the honor of the British Parliament, (though not until motion after motion had been made on the subject by the opposition,) General Smith received so severe a reprimand; and which was, it is supposed, the ultimate cause of his recall. Thus when the Inquisitors found that the lodges of Free-masons, had counteracted some of their projected schemes of blood, it became necessary to put them down. They were proscribed accordingly; but the secrecy attendant on their composition setting ordinary measures at defiance, recourse has been had to the proclamation that has been the subject of this letter. I have at present intruded too much perhaps on your valuable columns. I shall, in a second letter, communicate to you an interesting detail of the very artful and extraordinary methods adopted by the clergy to bring over Ferdinand so entirely to their views, which have produced the present state of misery and dismay in which all Spain is involved. I am, &c.

## CIVIS.

P. S. Having mentioned the case of the two unfortunate Spaniards, who were shamefully given up to the vengeance of their Government by a British officer at Gibraltar, I cannot omit noticing the circumstance that one of these persecuted individuals, having escaped the *holy* blood-hounds, has reached this country, and, in consequence of what lately passed in parliament respecting his disgraceful arrest, has addressed a letter to the public, through the medium of the newspapers. This gentleman's name is *Antonio Luigblanch*, and the following is the account he gives of his reasons for leaving Cadiz, and of his subsequent apprehension at Gibraltar:—“There being strong reason to believe at Cadiz, “about the middle of last May, that “Ferdinand the VIth, instigated by bad

" advice, was about to overturn the constitution, and at the same time having reason to fear the *re-establishment of the Inquisition*, against which, exercising the right allowed me by the laws during the existence of the Cortes, I had written a work, entitled, *The Inquisition Unmasked*, I endeavoured to place myself in safety. With this view, having procured a passport from "Senor Valdez, then Governor of Cadiz, and which, for the greater security, I got countersigned by Sir J. Duff, I went by sea to Gibraltar, with an intention of coming to London. In the same passage-boat with me was a Captain retired from service, by name *Don Diego Correa*, who was also leaving Spain in consequence of the threatened revolution in public affairs, and with whom I had no previous communication, although I knew him by repute to be a brave soldier, and a good patriot. We had been three days at an inn at Gibraltar, when, about eleven at night, an Adjutant of the fortress made his appearance, with a picquet of infantry, and took us prisoners to the guard-house. Next day we were examined, and our declarations taken; and after two days more had elapsed, we were delivered up to the Spanish Consul, who sent us to the Commandant of the camp of St. Roque, at Algesiras."—Towards the conclusion of this letter, will be found the following very severe and pointed strictures on the conduct of Sir James Duff:—"The charges brought against me in Sir James Duff's letter, viz. that I am the author of *The Inquisition Unmasked*, is as little entitled to attention as the preceding. Such a charge is the more preposterous, as being brought against me by a citizen of a free and enlightened nation, which, from principles of religion and a just resentment, must detest that tribunal. I could not have believed, without seeing it in print, that this would have been regarded as an imputation upon my character: and the Consul of his Britannic Majesty has proceeded in this point as the most *fanatic vassal* of his Catholic Majesty might be supposed to have done."

years, been too much given to foreign politics, to look well to his affairs at home. The time, however, is now arrived for his doing so; and, upon finding domestic matters much out of order, John is astonished, puzzled, and perplexed. With his hands in his breeches pocket, feeling his purse, John looks forward, and is alarmed. Then measuring its contents, by the grip of his intelligent fingers, he looks back, and heaves a deep sigh!

—But, Sir, it is for those benevolent minds, who told him, long ago, how to avoid his present dilemma (notwithstanding his former obstinacy,) still to assist him in averting future evils, and preventing, if possible, a recurrence of the past. This will be but consistent with our Tenets; and, with your permission, thro' your intelligent Register, I'll try my hand.

Your publication of the 28th, contains, an ingenious article, under the Head, No. 1, *Corn Bill*, from the *Courier*; in which it is stated that "The English Farmer, cannot grow Corn, unless, by an importation duty, the foreign Farmer be made to bear part of the English Farmer's taxes; and here I take my stand."—You, in reply, say, "but he will not bear part then, for he will not bring his corn, and it is meant, that he should not—Here I take my stand."

—The article from the *Courier* (looking at its purpose) is written with adroitness, and great ability; but you have, with equal adroitness, and with much greater aptness of argument, fully and fairly detected, and exposed, its plausible fallacy—after which you say—"Reduce the Taxes of the English Farmer, and then he will grow corn enough, without the aid of foreign supply."—But this Reduction, (as I know you are fully aware, tho' you choose to pause here,) cannot be expected to happen at least in time, and to the extent sought, for the relief of the Farmer; or rather, for the relief, I am disposed to think, of the former blunders of the Ministry. And why can it not? Why because our extravagance and prodigality, in spending, lending, and giving away the Wealth of the Nation, has been so rapid and so vast. We have contracted an immense debt, and must continue to pay the interest of an additional six hundred millions, incurred within these twenty years, to preserve our honour, and our credit from being sullied. We cannot, therefore, reduce

#### LOOK AT HOME.

MR. COBBETT.—I agree with you, that John Bull's attention has, of late

our taxes, I fear, greatly and suddenly. If we rest then, upon the grounds of the *Courier*, our Manufactures, and general prosperity must decline; and if upon *an immediate*, and *an efficient* reduction of our taxes, the Fund-holders must suffer, or the Wheels of the Government Mail be too much clogg'd, to perform their usual circumrotation. This, Mr. Cobbett, is a *puzzling dilemma!*—a situation of *distress* and *difficulty*, naturally suggesting two Questions.—*Who brought us into it?*—*What is to be done?*—In answer to the first, I say, that *those*, who have been supporting, and encouraging the War of *passion*, not of *prudence*;—*those* who denominated the voice of reason and of justice, *Jacobinism*; *those* who shouted, huzzaed, and bravadoed, echoing to a triumphant Majority of their said-to-be-Representatives in Parliament, at every new tax, and at every annual addition of fifteen or twenty millions of expenditure. Such, I regret to say, were a great portion of this easily-misled Nation, (the Agriculturists almost entirely) blinded, and half mad, by a *deceitful prosperity*, which they thought must still increase with *general wretchedness*; and which their self-nourished and destructive favor mistook for sincere and lasting *reality*.—As to the *second question*.—*What is to be done?*—What but, from *past errors*, to learn *future Wisdom*? This is the lot of humanity; and every thing which our *newly-awakened* reason, prudence, and economy can suggest, should, if possible, be instantaneously adopted:—Call the wisest Councils,—not of the present weak, and extravagant school, that has brought England into unexampled difficulties. Let every branch of our administration be rendered *economical*; cut off all superfluous expences; part with all irrational costly establishments; call upon our public Men, of *large fortunes*, to discharge, for a few years, official duties *gratis*; establish such *preventions*, with due care, that the same wasteful extravagance, the like *mania* for wanton warfare, with all its destructive costliness, never may recur. Let the Government honourably discharge its duties to the people; the People theirs to the Government. Let us but do this *honestly*, *wisely*, *promptly*, and *constitutionally*, and, like old English Patriots, we may still *fearless* look our difficulties in the face:—Still may our

Country lift her head amidst surrounding Nations!—and still may we find means, sufficient to meet all purposes.—Methinks I hear the manufacturers and agriculturists say, “Why, yes; all this may be true, but how are these matters to be carried into effect?”—By not *selling yourselves*, first to *trading members* of Parliament, then trading members cannot *sell you a second time*, in support of profusion, irrational wars, and the increase of taxation.—Ask *one and all constitutionally*, but *firmly* ask, for a *radical reform* in your representation.—Be *Englishmen*, and *English property*, but *justly, fairly, and honourably represented*; and corruption, tho' encouraged by the unthinking, and the prodigal, in the most wasteful profusion, will not, *cannot*, again bring this country into the distressing dilemma, which the lavish expenditure of the last twenty-three years has effected.—With this remedy, we should need *no importation duties upon corn*, nor be burthened with *more paupers*, or with *higher prices* for the necessities of life than other countries.—Without this remedy, the evils we complain of must continue, seeing we have acquired the *Heaven-born taste for millions over thousands*. England will then become a *Cipher* amongst the Nations of Europe!

TERTIO.

Jan. 31, 1815.

#### “HORRID BLASPHEMOUS IMPOSTURE!!”

MR. COBBETT.—The following article, to which the Editor of the *Morning Post* has prefixed the above terrific title, appeared in that journal of yesterday:—“Paris, Feb. 1.—The Sixth Chamber of Correctional Police, this day, condemned to five year's imprisonment, a fine of 200 francs, and the expences of suit, a man named *Nagede*, who called himself *Le Bon Dieu*, on account of his alledged inspiration from heaven! It appeared, this audacious hypocrite had swindled many of his neighbours out of varicus sums of money—particularly the female sex—in consequence of his blasphemous pretensions.”—From this article it appears, that in France things have considerably altered since Bonaparte was put down. During his reign, any man might have believed, professed, or pretended what he liked as to religion. Under the pre-

sent regime, inspiration is not permitted. Had Joanna Southcott, Parson Towzer, &c. gone over to that country, instead of making converts, they would have been sent to the gallies! Who, therefore, will attempt to deny, that *ours* is the *mildest* of all possible governments, and Lord Ellenborough the most *moderate* of all possible judges? Mr. George Houston, to be sure, who composed that most diabolical book entitled "*Ecce Homo*," is on the opposite side of the question. He wants to prove—what I shudder to think of—of course dare not repeat—and the poor man in France who set himself up as being "*Le Bon Dieu*," *the good God himself*, is sent (in order to *convince* the world of his mistake) to prison for five years! But his followers, I understand, swear, that this is a *certain evidence* of his divinity, and impiously appeal to historical proofs, whether an instance is not to be found, some where or other, of a man being even put to death for a similar offence, and yet becoming afterwards the founder of a religion so powerful, that to express a doubt of its divinity subjected every unfortunate disbeliever to fine, imprisonment, and its whole train of concomitant evils. I give you the text. I leave the commentary to your readers; and am, &c.

Feb. 9, 1815.

PHILO-CIVIS.

#### THE LATE KING OF SWEDEN.

Mr. COBBETT.—Of all the claimants among the *legitimate* sovereigns of Europe, to restitution of the territory and kingdoms, which they lost in consequence of the mighty events attending the French revolution, it was scarcely to be expected that the *ci-devant* king of Sweden would have come forward and placed himself in the list. At one period, no doubt, he was hailed in this enlightened country as a *magnanimous* prince, and extolled to the skies for his *virtues*, because he ventured to quarrel with Bonaparte; but our sagacious politicians were not long in discovering, that the *empty coffers* of his treasury were ill calculated to maintain a struggle with France. At first, our *generosity* enabled him to oppose something like a show of resistance to the "Corsican *"Usurper,"*" but lavish as we were of our money at that period, we soon got tired of our magnanimous ally, and asserted that he was *mad* to think of resisting

the power of Napoleon. This unfortunate expression was immediately laid hold on by a faction: Gustavus was declared *insane* by his subjects, dethroned, exiled, and, ever since, has lived in retirement, on the scanty pittance which the humane and charitable were willing to bestow on fallen royalty. Now, however, he seems disposed to assert his rights, and if an article from Basle is to be credited, he has employed Sir Sydney Smith as his agent, to present a declaration to the Congress at Vienna, of which the substance is said to be a revocation, on his own part, and in behalf of his son, of the act of abdication by which he resigned the crown and government of Sweden.—Without attributing any improper motives to the interference of a British Minister in a business of this nature, I cannot help thinking that the appearance of this declaration at the present moment, is more for the purpose of alarming Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, than from any regard to the rights of the exiled monarch. How, indeed, can it be otherwise, when the case of the unfortunate sovereign of Saxony is considered?—As to him neither rights, justice nor policy are respected. It must, therefore, have been to promote some other object than that of asserting the *personal* claims of Gustavus, that he has been brought upon the carpet; and when the attempts which have lately been made by an infamous press, to bring the King of Naples into discredit are recollected, it will excite no surprise if it should turn out that the present is a scheme to favor some project, perhaps not yet fully matured, of dethroning Bernadotte. Whether this conjecture is well founded or not, a very short period will determine. Meanwhile I am your admirer. JULIAN,

Feb. 9th. 1815.

#### LEGION OF HONOUR.

SIR,—In your valuable Register of the week before last, your Correspondent *Civis*, has made a most unwarrantable attack upon the New Legion of Honour, by adding to the ranks of that "*most honourable Institution*," the person whom he calls "Sir Digby Hamilton," and classes with Sir Henry Torrens and Sir Harry Calvert, &c. I beg the favour of your being so good as to correct this

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mis-statement, "the temporary rank Major General Waggon Master General" not having succeeded in his application to become a Member of the "Fraternity." It was indeed hinted that he was to have been one of the *Pen and Ink Knights*; but Mr. Canning having claimed Lord Cochrane's Vacancy, as you explained in a former Register, no Niche, sufficiently capacious, could be found for him.—Mr. Canning, it is said, generously offered to waive his claims in favour of the "Temporary Rank General," (in compliment to the Commander in Chief) but a doubt then arose as to the possibility of admitting him, as, in that case, Mr. Nader, the worthy and respectable City Marshal, insisted upon being decorated with the Order, declaring that on the occasion of Sir Francis Burdett's commitment to the Tower, he had seen much more "*dangerous service*," in marshalling the carriages in order of march, than the "Temporary Rank" Major General ever saw in his whole military career, from his first "*official situation*" as Artillery Serjeant's Clerk, up to his present high office of superintendant of the Horse Guards! Lord Cochrane has certainly to regret his exclusion from the "honourable Order," under the present circumstances, for, unquestionably, he would have made many most *respectable* and valuable acquaintances, which he is now deprived of.

I beg leave to intrude one other remark:—As your Register is in very general circulation, no doubt some of your correspondents can favour me with information, as to what is the meaning of *Temporary Rank*; how long does it last; or does *temporary* mean "*permanent*?" Every "*Temporary Rank Officer*" in the whole Army has been long ago reduced: what therefore are the peculiar claims or merits of *Temporary Rank Waggon Master Major General*, Digby Hamilton, that a most invidious exception should be made in his favour? Have the fatal consequences, attendant on secret influence been forgotten? Or, are the *private services* of the "*Major General*," of such a nature as to *demand* that he should continue to receive a large annuity, and very great emoluments; such as forage for his horses, coals, candles &c. thus saddling the public with an enormous expence, without any apparent duty being performed for it? If this is an erroneous statement, some of your Cor-

respondents will set me right.—If not, perhaps through your channel the public will receive the desired information.

I am, &c. P. C.

Horse Guards, Feb. 2, 1815.

#### UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

SIR,—The facts contained in the letters which appeared in your REGISTER within the last twelvemonth, exposing the abuse of power in the University of Oxford, afford a lamentable, but convincing, proof, that the head may be furnished with some learning, while the heart is without any feeling. It is evident that the persons to whom your correspondent's strictures apply, are those who have seen little or nothing of the world, or who have not had the good sense to profit by what they have seen; and whose ideas are consequently confined. His strictures apply to men, who are acquainted with books, but not with mankind; or who after having submitted to be slaves when under authority, avenge themselves by becoming tyrants.—I am confirmed in this opinion by a circumstance which your correspondent, I believe, will not deny, that so far as his statement regards the procuratorial office, the greatest abuses have, generally speaking, (though it must be owned there have been occasionally some striking instances to the contrary) been committed by the *youngest* men, and that the pro-proctors, who properly should only act in the absence of the proctors from the university, or by their immediate concurrence and advice, as the name of the officer imports, (*procurator*, i. e. the deputy's deputy) are more frequently to blame than their superiors in office. Indeed, it generally happens, that one or other of these young gentlemen, (for I do not accuse them all) through his extreme indiscretion, and ardent desire to shew and exert his power, will act in direct opposition to the good intentions of his superiors, who, unhappily, when an error has been committed by one or other of the said pro-proctors, think proper to support his authority, however ill-advisedly it may have been exercised. This is a very common cause of abuse, and of the injustice and cruelty which so frequently attend it. I remember an instance, not many years ago, of a quarrel in a house between two women, being construed into a riot, and on an information being laid by some ill-natured

person, the house was visited by one of the pro-proctors; though even if there had been a riot, it would not have come under his jurisdiction, but under that of a common peace-officer, as the university statutes, taken in their most rigid sense, only authorise its officers to enter houses in order to ascertain whether any members of the university are in them. The women, however, were taken before the officer who had the power of commitment, and instead of being dismissed by him with a reprimand, and a private hint being given to the pro-proctor to act with greater caution, were sent to prison. I cannot help observing, that out of six persons invested with so much power, there is great probability that one at least will be ill-conditioned or wrong-headed; and to see the extreme officiousness and increased activity of such a man as the termination of his short-lived power approaches, is highly ludicrous. It is sometimes the height of his ambition to procure a nomination to the office for two or three successive years.

Of the truth of your correspondent's statements, I am perfectly convinced by my own observations and inquiries; and I perfectly agree with him that neither the discipline nor morality of the University has been improved by the means he so justly censures. It may perhaps be said, that it is the duty of the officers of the University to exert themselves in the suppression of immorality. This I am ready to grant; but let it at the same time be remembered (to use the words of your correspondent, in his first letter) that "they are not justified in punishing offenders beyond the limits marked out by the law"; that "the profligate should be punished, and punished according to the known and equal law of the land, and not with greater severity than that allows; and that by good magistrates, reformation will always be preferred to severity of punishment." Your correspondent was too sanguine in his expectations that the windows of the cells in the prison would be immediately closed with glass. This is the case in the most modern and the best constructed prisons; but here it has not been done. I cannot help expressing my hopes, though, perhaps, I myself may be too sanguine in entertaining them, that the city magistrates will at some future time see the necessity of this humane alteration; that they will

consider imprisonment, in its legal sense, as merely implying confinement in a prison, which, considering the misery and privations necessarily attending it, even in its best state, must be very wretched, without subjecting the prisoners to any unnecessary hardship, or exposing their healths to irretrievable injury. As long, however, as this hardship continues, and in inclement weather, it is of the most severe description, as well as the extreme dampness of the prison, it is hoped that the humanity of the Vice-chancellor, will duly consider each particular case before he consigns a female to a punishment that may prove so injurious to her health and constitution. If we look into history, we shall find that Parliamentary interference has never been of much advantage either to the Universities or the Clergy. I confess, however, that such interference, whatever may be the consequence, would be more satisfactory than the constant irritation arising from a scene of cruelty and oppression, which will always exist, more or less in a place where the inhabitants are deprived of the protection of the common law of the land. I shall only add, that the good sense of those whom it may more immediately concern, should suggest to them, that in these days, such measures as were lately put in practice, and which, it is hoped, will never be revived, are not well adapted to perpetuate privileges.

Oxford, Feb. 1, 1815.

H. S.

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#### AMERICAN DOCUMENTS.

##### *Continued from page 160.*

the acknowledged principles of public law, and to the practice of all civilized nations, particularly of Great Britain and the United States. It is not founded on reciprocity. It is unnecessary for the attainment of the object which it professes to have in view. No maxim of public law has hitherto been more universally established among the Powers of Europe possessing territories in America, and there is none to which Great Britain has more uniformly and inflexibly adhered, than that of suffering no interposition of a foreign power in the relations between the acknowledged Sovereign of the territory, and the Indians situated upon it. Without the admission of this principle, there would be no intelligible meaning attached to stipulations establishing boundaries between the dominions in America of civilized nations possessing territories

inhabited by Indian tribes. Whatever may be the relations of Indians to the nation in whose territory they are thus acknowledged to reside, they cannot be considered as an independent power by the nation which has made such acknowledgement. That the territory of which Great Britain now wishes to dispose is within the dominions of the United States, was solemnly acknowledged by herself, in the Treaty of Peace of 1783, which established their boundaries, and by which she relinquished all claims to the government, proprietary and territorial rights, within those boundaries. No condition respecting the Indians residing therein was inserted in that Treaty. No stipulation similar to that now proposed is to be found in any treaty made by Great Britain, or within the knowledge of the undersigned by any other nation. The Indian tribes for which Great Britain propose now to stipulate, have themselves acknowledged this principle. By the Grenville Treaty of 1795, to which the British Plenipotentiaries have alluded, it is expressly stipulated, and the condition has been confirmed by every subsequent Treaty, so late as the year 1810—"That the Indian tribes shall quietly enjoy their lands, hunting, planting, and dwellings thereon, so long as they please, without any molestation from the United States; but that when those tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, they are to be sold only to the United States: that until such sale, the United States will protect all the said Indian tribes in the quiet enjoyment of their lands against all citizens of the United States, and against all other white persons who intrude on the same; and that the said Indian tribes again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the said United States, and of no other power whatever." That there is no reciprocity in the proposed stipulation is evident. In prohibiting Great Britain and the United States from purchasing lands within a part of the dominions of the latter power, while it professes to take from Great Britain a privilege which she had not, it actually deprives the United States of a right exclusively belonging to them. The proposition is also utterly unnecessary for the purpose of obtaining a pacification for the Indians residing within the territories of the United States. The undersigned have already had the honour of informing the British Plenipotentiaries that, under the system of liberal policy adopted by the United States in their relations with the Indians within their territories, an uninterrupted peace had subsisted from the year 1795, not only between the United States and all those tribes, but also amongst those tribes themselves, for a longer period of time than ever had been known since the first settlement of North America. Against those Indians the United States have neither interest nor inclination

to continue the war. They have nothing to ask of them but peace. Commissioners on their part have been appointed to conclude it, and an armistice was actually made last Autumn with most of those tribes. The British Government may again have induced some of them to take their side in the war, but peace with them will necessarily follow immediately a peace with Great Britain. To a provisional article similar to what has been stipulated in some former treaties, engaging that each party will treat for the Indians within its territories, include them in the peace, and use its best endeavours to prevent them from committing hostilities against the citizens or subjects of the other party, the undersigned might assent, and rely on the approbation and ratification of their Government. They would also, for the purpose of securing the duration of peace, and to prevent collisions which might interrupt it, propose a stipulation which should preclude the subjects or citizens of each nation respectively, from trading with the Indians residing in the territory of the other. But to surrender both the rights of sovereignty and of soil over nearly one-third of the territorial dominions of the United States to a number of Indians not probably exceeding 20,000, the undersigned are so far from being instructed or authorized, that they assure the British Commissioners, that any arrangement for that purpose would be instantaneously rejected by their Government. Not only has this extraordinary demand been made a *sine qua non*, to be admitted without a discussion, and as a preliminary basis, but it is accompanied by others equally inadmissible, which the British Plenipotentiaries state to be so connected with it, that they may reasonably influence the decision of the undersigned upon it, yet leaving them uninformed how far these other demands may also be insisted on as indispensable conditions of a peace. As little are the undersigned instructed or empowered to accede to the propositions of the British Government, in relation to the military occupation of the Western Lakes. If they have found the proposed interference of Great Britain in the concerns of Indians residing within the United States utterly incompatible with any established maxim of public law, they are no less at a loss to discover by what rule of perfect reciprocity the United States can be required to renounce their equal right of maintaining a naval force upon those Lakes, and of fortifying their own shores, while Great Britain reserves exclusively the corresponding rights to herself. That in point of military preparation Great Britain, in her possessions in North America, ever has been in a condition to be termed, with propriety, the weaker power, in comparison with the United States, the undersigned believe to be incorrect in point of fact. In regard to the fortification of

the shores, and to the forces actually kept on foot upon those frontiers, they believe the superiority to have always been on the side of Great Britain. If by the proposal to dismantle the forts upon her shores, strike for ever her military flag upon her lakes, and lay her whole frontier defenceless in the presence of her armed and fortified neighbour, had proceeded not from Great Britain to the United States, but from the United States to Great Britain, the undersigned may safely appeal to the bosoms of his Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiaries for the feelings with which, not only in regard to the interests, but the honour of their nation, they would have received such a proposal. What would Great Britain herself say, it, in relation to another frontier, where she has the acknowledged superiority of strength, if were proposed that she should be reduced to a condition even of equality with the United States. The undersigned further perceive, that under the alledged purpose of opening a direct communication between two of the British provinces in America, the British Government require a cession of territory forming a part of one of the States of the American Union, and that they propose, without purpose specifically alledged, to draw the boundary-line westward, not from the Lake of the Woods, as it now is, but from Lake Superior. It must be perfectly immaterial to the United States, whether the object of the British Government, in demanding the dismemberment of the United States is to acquire territory, as such, or for purposes less liable, in the eyes of the world, to be ascribed to the desire of aggrandisement. Whatever the motive may be, and with whatever consistency views of conquest may be disclaimed while demanding for herself, or for the Indians, a cession of territory more extensive than the whole island of Great Britain, the duty marked out for the undersigned is the same. They have no authority to cede any part of the territory of the United States, and to no stipulation to that effect will they subscribe. The conditions proposed by Great Britain have no relation to the subsisting differences between the two countries: they are inconsistent with acknowledged principles of public law; they are founded neither on reciprocity nor on any of the usual bases of negotiation, neither on that of the *uti possidetis*, or the *status ante bellum*: they would inflict the most vital injury on the United States, by dismembering the territory, by arresting their natural growth and increase of population, and by leaving their northern and western frontier equally exposed to British invasion and to Indian aggression; they are above all dishonourable to the United States, in demanding from them to

abandon territory and a portion of their citizens, to admit a foreign interference in their domestic concerns, and to cease to exercise their natural rights on their own shores and in their own waters.—A treaty concluded on such terms would be but an armistice. It cannot be supposed that America would long submit to conditions so injurious and degrading. It is impossible, in the natural course of events, that she should not, at the first favourable opportunity, recur to arms for the recovery of her territory, of her rights, of her honour. Instead of settling existing differences, such a peace would only create new causes of war, sow the seeds of a permanent hatred, and lay the foundation of hostilities for an indefinite period. Essentially pacific from her political institutions, from the habits of her citizens, from her physical situation, America reluctantly engaged in the war. She wishes for peace; but she wishes for it upon those terms of reciprocity, honourable to both countries, which can alone render it permanent. The causes of the war between the United States and Great Britain having disappeared by the maritime pacification of Europe, the government of the United States does not desire to continue it, in defence of abstract principles which have, for the present, ceased to have any practical effect. The undersigned have been accordingly instructed to agree to its termination, both parties restoring whatever territory they may have taken, and both reserving all their rights, in relation to their respective seamen. To make the peace between the two nations solid and permanent, the undersigned were also instructed and have been prepared to enter into the amicable discussion of all those points on which differences or uncertainty had existed, and which might hereafter tend in any degree whatever to interrupt the harmony of the two countries, without, however making the conclusion of the peace at all depend upon a successful result of the discussion. It is, with deep regret, that the undersigned have seen that other views are entertained by the British Government, and that new and unexpected pretensions are raised, which, if persisted in, must oppose an insuperable obstacle to a pacification. It is not necessary to refer such demands to the American Government for its instruction; they will only be a fit subject of deliberation, when it becomes necessary to decide upon the expediency of an absolute surrender of National Independence. The undersigned request the British Plenipotentiaries to accept the assurance of their high consideration. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, JAMES A. BAYARD, JONATHAN RUSSELL, H. CLAY, A. GALLATIN.

(To be continued.)